2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

(8) *Cutting up the Yams*

881 252 After the yams had been in the oven for about one and a half hours, the men gathered around the oven, felt it, and, after a short discussion began to scrape the warm sand away from the paper-bark covering. As they did so, they pressed handfuls of the warm sand against their elbows, chest, shoulders and knees, believing that this sand made their joints strong and supple (Pl. 45c).

881 When the paper-bark, carefully removed strip by strip, exposed the cooked yams, the women, who had been quietly standing on the outside of the *milimika* murmured reverently, "Ah, *kulama*, ah, *kulama*." Taking the hot yams from the oven each man held them against his chest, and his [827] head. This they said would give them added strength and vitality. The women although they did not participate in this ritual, sent their children into the *milimika* to have the yams pressed against their bodies so that they would grow to healthy and strong adults.

[177] [533] As the men peeled the yams, exposing the soft, yellow flesh, they sang about preparing and eating various kinds of food belonging to the white man,[85] "cutting bread for a meal, carving steak from a bullock and roasting it on the coals, cooking the tongue of a bullock, eating corn beef", and so on. When all the yams were peeled they were left on a sheet of bark whilst [412] [177] everyone had a meal and a sleep. In the late afternoon the *kulama* men started to slice the yams (cockle shells, *irakapi*, were used before the advent of steel). As they did so, the men mashed up some of the sliced *kulama* between the palms of the hands, mixed this with red ochre, and each rubbed it on his hair, face, whiskers and body. This, they believed, aided by the earlier rituals, would ensure them good health until the next *kulama*.

(9) *Initiation of the Kilipaniatis and Mikinatrinas*

The sliced yams were put in the basket, and stood in the centre of the *milimika*. A *kulama* man walked into the forest, and collected a length of flexible vine. Returning to the *milimika* he bent the vine round the necks of the male *Marukumunis* and the female *Marukumuningas* in such a way that it could not be removed. These initiates were then *Kilipaniatis* and *Kilipaniatingas* respectively. This neck ornament, which had a number of cords [301] hanging from it, is called a *mariguani* (Pl. 42b). After these initiates had been further decorated with bark armlets, *tjungutis*[86] (Pl. 42d and c), and cane

[85] No doubt, in times past, they sang about abundant supplies of their own favourite foods.

[86] Spencer, 1928, illustrates the bark armlets, *tjungutis*, on Pl. XI and the belt, *aluriwi*, on Pl. IX, No. 1.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the dead, they should never be taken from him. *Maratji* was so angry over this white man's act of sacrilege that he created a heavy storm to sink the boat and so prevent the theft.

The Maratjis at Maundu

Maundu, a freshwater lagoon on the south-western shores of Bathurst Island is the home of many *Maratjis*, males, females and children, under a leader called *Orini*. The water which flows from the lagoon, across the beach into the sea, is reddish in colour. This, according to the aborigines, is stained by the faeces of the *Maratjis*.

The aborigines of the adjoining *Mandubuka* totem are the only people safe from the attacks of the *Maratjis* of Maundu. To protect a stranger who has to go near Maundu, one of the local men, wiping the perspiration from his own armpits, rubs it over his companion.

The familiar body odour misleads the *Maratjis*, who do not attack the newcomer. Should this strange aboriginal have to cross the stream that flows from Maundu to the sea, a local man first makes the water muddy, then, walking through it instructs the stranger to step in his tracks. The stranger must recompense his guide for this protection. Should the stranger become thirsty and none of the local men are with him, he can safely drink at Maundu if he first makes the water muddy. At the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi* which we witnessed at Melville Island, an elderly aboriginal, *Jibunglialumi*, whose nose had been eaten away by yaws, attributed his deformity to the attack of a *Maratji* because he drank from the clear, not the muddy water, of Maundu.

Even when a group of local aborigines has to pass the Maundu lagoon, they travel in single file, the elder men first, the younger men next, then the women and children, each adult placing his feet exactly in the footmarks of the person in front. No woman, during the period of her menses, must go near Maundu. If she did, *Maratji* would kill her. There are good ochres of many colours at Maundu but no one will use them. Tradition tells of an aboriginal, called *Alumgun*, who lost his life because he disregarded this taboo.

One side of a female *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 48c (indicated by the central hole), deals with the myth of *Maratji* at Maundu.

The central hole in the basket is the freshwater lagoon, Maundu; the radiating lines, *a*, *a*, etc., are the *Maratjis* and those at *b*, *b*, etc., strips of white sand on the bottom of the lagoon. The darker circles indicate the red (stained) water which runs from the lagoon, across the beach, into the sea, and the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

773 This behaviour led to a great deal of trouble, developing later into a fight in which many of the *Maludaianini* men were wounded.

After that fight, the *Maludaianini* men rose into the sky and became the Milky Way; their wives were turned into stars.

776 821 When the sun-woman sinks beneath the western horizon, and the light from the blazing torch leaves the sky, the *Maludaianini* travel in a long line across the firmament (similar to the processional caterpillars at the beginning of the wet season), visiting their wives, the stars, as they go.

[827] Early in the evening the men of the Milky Way rub their hands over their bodies to remove the dried perspiration. This dried perspiration, falling on the eyelids of the aboriginal people, make them heavy with sleep.[88]

x 532 Three bark paintings, Pl. 60D, Pl. 62A, and Pl. 63C, illustrate the myth of the men of the Milky Way.

776 821 The black bars between *c*, *c*, and *c*, *c*, Pl. 60D, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*; the white disc, *a*, being their camp, while similar white designs, *b*, *b*, indicate the camps of their star wives.

The central white panel, *d*, is the Milky Way; the dark squares, *e*, *e*, etc., are the red clouds at sunrise and sunset, the dark-coloured vertical panels on either side of *d*, white cumulus clouds at night, and the six black discs, dark-coloured clouds, in the night sky.

Pl. 62A is another painting of the Milky Way. The circles with the radiating lines are the camp fires of the stars, the background being the shadows cast by those fires. The Coal Sack in which there are no fires, is the camp of the star women.[89]

The lighter panels, leading from the upper left to the lower right, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, the darker panels, from upper right to lower left, indicate the night sky.

Reading from the left on the lower edge, panels one, three and five symbolize cumulus clouds, *Kumbaratina*, of the night sky, and two, four and six, unidentified clouds, called *aratinia*.

The dotted panels on Pl. 63C represent the men of the Milky Way, the barred panels, the "roads", i.e., dark spaces, in the galaxy, and the five horizontal panels, eucalyptus trees in the firmament.

[855] [88] The aboriginal women, to the accompaniment of a lullaby, send their children to sleep by rubbing their fingers together above the face of the child in the same manner as the *Maludaianini* do in the sky.

[89] The Coal Sack is visible at Melville Island only during the hot "wet" season, i.e. from November to March. This had given rise to the belief that the star-women, who make their camp within that heavenly spectacle, do not need fires. The same belief accounts for the fact that, within the Coal Sack there are no stars (the camp-fires of the star-women).

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

An interesting thing in the Kulama is that at that ritual a man must not touch his wives or children, because a deadly sweat called *kilamini* comes from his body and will cause any of his nearest who touch it to die.[7]

Another small ritual is the Miringaleta, a puberty custom for girls; it is connected with the Rainbow snake and is also a marriage ceremony. Last of all comes the Pukamane, a death ritual, the purpose of which is to "lay the shade," *emuke:r* of the deceased person and send it back to its clan centre from its wandering around the bush in an endless "walkabout."[8] The "shade" is said to leave the body after a period when the joints begin to crack (the natives call this *Yataraka*); it then immediately hurries to the various camps, emitting a strange cry, "oom—oom." By this sound—the cry of a night bird—the natives know a person has died.

Culture Heroes. They have culture heroes: Purakapale and with him are the "dream time" heroes, Mudarti (the Kurakun of the subincized people), the wedge-tailed hawk, and numerous others all linked together in the legends of long ago; Kuparani, the frill necked lizard and his sister Ikaikgini, the black cockatoo, are characters in the incest tales.

There are also heroes who produced things and turned into animal form, Irakapa, the alligator, the maker and "boss" of the ceremonial spear—*Tumereka*. Rokama, the mosquito, the headman of the ordinary mangrove spear (*Orati*) which is used for everyday work. In making this he copied the speargrass, *Marakarti*.

The Present Day Spirits. Some spirits vitally affect their present lives. Papinowari, or Lamparapari, the destroyer—expressing in a milder form the *Kadaitja* theory of the central natives. Kala is also an ordinary spirit, in fact a shade of a departed native of prowess in the past, who is on the "walkabout." Barminuar is a quaint elusive spirit—an island Peter Pan—who never grows old, and is about the size of a small boy. He is always up to mischief; many tales are recounted of natives meeting with him and always finding him "too clever." In one place they showed me a tree where such a spirit had entered, not through a hole in the trunk, but had just passed through it, splitting it open; the split is there now.[9] The rain spirit is Pakadringa. The lightning is caused by his wife Bumarali, whose axe splits the trees. His other wife, Tomakaka, is the monsoon and when it begins the natives know it is she by the sighs (the hiss of the wind in those rains).

Magic. Their magic is somewhat the same as in other tribes. The idea differs slightly in that with them the aim is to bring the destroyer, Lamparapari, upon the victim. This is done by burning a piece of blood—a hard piece which has dried up—and letting the wind carry the smell to the victim. The latter becomes affected because Lamparapari is attracted by this smell and sucks out his blood.

[7] The name for ordinary sweat is *kulumpara*. It is interesting to compare the Anula belief: if a person is sung with magic, a white exudation appears on the skin, with deadly effect.

[8] These people have no idea of reincarnation; in their view, a spirit is eternal but is never reborn.

[9] Trees often burst like this owing to being hollow and full of water or dirt, the pressure of which bursts them open. This could have given rise to the story.